

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3879

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 0398

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW), TZ, US

SUBJECT: VISIT TO TANZANIA OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG

FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF 30 JANUARY TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT OWNED
DAILY NEWS ARTICLE UNDER HEAD "ANDREW YOUNG AND AMERICA'S
'NEW' IMAGE"

BEGIN TEXT

QUOTE: 1. THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE HAS BEEN WRITTEN BY CORRESPONDENT
OMMA PRICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM, IN VIEW OF
THE RECENT APPOINTMENT OF ANDREW YOUNG AS THE US AMBASSADOR
TO THE UN. OMMA PRICE IS AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN.

2. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE HISTORY OF
THE AFRICAN IN AMERICA, A BLACK MAN HAS BEEN APPOINTED TO
ONE OF THE HIGHEST POSITIONS IN THE HIERARCHY OF THE
AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM.

3. THE APPOINTMENT BECOMES EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT WITHIN
THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT EVENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
POLITICAL SYSTEM. THE WORLD TODAY STANDS ON THE VERGE OF
WITNESSING THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE LAST
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BASTION OF WESTERN COLONIALISM.

4. MORE IMPORTANT, THE TREND IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD
SEEMS TO IMPLY THAT THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL
BE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A TRULY NATIONAL LIBERATION
(I.E., THE STRUGGLE IS NOT ONLY AGAINST COLONIALISM, BUT
AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM AS WELL).

TM THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT ARE IMMENSE FOR THE ENTIRE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLES OF GUINEA BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, ZIMBABWE AND AZANIA HAVE INSPIRED PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE, AND HAVE STUCK JUST AS MUCH FEAR IN THE HEARTS OF THE RULING CLASSES OF THE IMPERIALIST NATION EVERYWHERE.

6. JUST AS THE AMERICAN DEFEAT IN VIETNAM HERALDED THE REVOLUTIONARY VICTORIES OF AFRICA, CAN ONE IMAGINE WHAT TIDE OF LIBERATION WILL FLOW OVER AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, OVER THE WORLD WHEN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS LIBERATED? IT IS WITHIN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE APPOINTMENT OF ANDREW YOUNG AS THE US SPOKESMAN AT THE UNITED NATIONS MUST BE VIEWED, AND THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THIS ACT CONSIDERED.

7. THE APPOINTMENT CAN BE CONSTRUED AS BOTH A POLITICAL MOVE AND A PUBLIC RELATIONS STUNT. AMERICAN NEEDS A FACE-LIFT ON THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE DOMESTIC FRONT. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AMERICAN HISTORY, A US PRESIDENT WAS ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF THE VOTES OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN. LOGICALLY, THE FIRST APPOINTMENT PRESIDENT CARTER ANNOUNCES FOR HIS NEW ADMINISTRATION IS THAT OF ANDREW YOUNG.

8. EVEN BEFORE HIS APPOINTMENT, YOUNG PROCEEDED TO CHASTISE THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN AMERICA FOR BEING TOO VOCAL AND STRIDENT IN THEIR DEMANDS ON PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER. CLEARLY, DESPITE HIS PREVIOUS POSITION AS CARTER'S TRUSTED REPRESENTATIVE OF BLACK AMERICANS SPEAKING FROM THE MASSES TO THE UNCLASSIFIED

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CANDIDATE. YOUNG HAS SHIFTED POSITIONS, MOVING "UPWARD" TO BECOME NOW CARTER'S TRUSTED REPRESENTATIVE TO BLACK AMERICANS, SPEAKING FROM THE CANDIDATE TO THE MASSES.

9. YET, HIS APPOINTMENT IS SUPPOSED TO REFLECT CARTER'S SENSITIVITY TO AND APPRECIATION OF THE BLACK VOTE. IN REALITY, THE APPOINTMENT IS MERELY ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO APPEASE THE BLACK POPULATION WITH A SYMBOLIC GESTURE OF "GOOD WILL."

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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10. DOES THE APPOINTMENT OF YOUNG SIGNIFY THAT RACISM IN AMERICA HAS LESSENED OVER THE YEARS? CLEARLY, THE ANSWER IS NOW - PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE NATION'S NEW PRESIDENT IS A FORMER GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA, ATTENDED A SEGREGATED CHURCH IN A SEGREGATED TOWN, AND PROMISES TO PRESERVE THE "ETHNIC PURITY" OF AMERICA'S NEIGHBOURHOODS.

11. HOW MANY GESTURES OF "GOOD WILL" HAVE WE BEEN OFFERED IN THE LAST 20 YEARS THAT WERE TOTALLY SYMBOLIC, AND IF NOT, WERE A DISMAL FAILURE (I.E., THE POVERTY PROGRAMMES) AND WERE SUBSEQUENTLY WITHDRAWN. CONSEQUENTLY, IT BECOMES OBVIOUS THAT GOOD WILL GESTURES AND SYMBOLIC APPOINTMENTS WILL NOT ANSWER THE NEEDS OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS.

12 THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN AMERICA IS THE MOST VOLATILE, AND THE MOST RADICAL SIGMENT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. INDEED, THE BLACK COMMUNITY REPRESENTS A POSSIBLE CATALYST FOR THE MOBILISATION OF OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS. IN THE LATE 1950S AND EARLY 1960S, IT WAS THE STRUGGLES OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS WHICH TOUCHED OFF A WHOLE DECADE OF SOCIAL UPHEAVAL IN AMERICA.

13. YET, IRONICALLY, THE ONLY REASON THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM
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OF AMERICA HAS SURVIVED WITHOUT ANY MAJOR THREATS TO ITS EXISTENCE HAS BEEN THE EXPLOITATION OF RACISM AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IN 1977, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES AROUND THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA, THIS REPRESENTS A DANGEROUS PROPOSITION FOR THE CURRENT SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF AMERICA. FACED WITH INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL DISINTERGRATION IN AMERICA, THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY VIEWS THE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA WITH INTEREST AND ALMOST UNSPOKEN HOPE. AND JOY AT

WHAT THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA COULD MEAN FOR AFRICANS IN AMERICA.

14. A CONSTANTLY REITERATED THEME OF AFRICAN LIBERATION IS THAT NO BLACK MAN IN THE WORLD WILL BECOME TRULY FREE UNTIL THE CONTINENT IS FREE. BLACK PEOPLE STRUGGLING WITHIN AMERICA HAVE NOT TOTALLY IGNORED THA THEME. CONSEQUENTLY. OUR CONNECTION WITH AFRICA, RACIAL. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL, ADDS TO OUR SOCIAL CHANGE IN AMERICA.

15. MORE IMPORTANT, IN VIEW OF THE ANTAGONISTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND AFRICAN LIBERATION, WE ARE A POTENTIAL "TROJAN HORSE". THE FACT HAS NOT GONE UNNOTICED BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

16. PERHAPS WHAT DISTINGUISHES JUMMY CARTER FROM GERALD FORD IS THAT HE'S SMART ENOUGH TO KNOW WHAT IS AT STAKE - THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS NOT INVINCIBLE, AS THE EXAMPLES OF BRITAIN FRANCE, ITALY AND PORTUGAL CLEARLY SHOW. HENCE, THE ADMINISTRATION MUST MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REPRESS AND APPEASE THE BLACK COMMUNITY, IN THAT ORDER, TO ENSURE THAT AMERICA DOES NOT FACE AN INTERNAL THREAT AS WELLL AS AN EXTERNAL ONE.

17. TURNING TO THE EXTERNAL SITUATION, THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS VERY CONCERNED WITH THE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA. DESPITE THE PROJECTED MYTH THAT AMERICA DOES NOT HAVE AN AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY, MUCH LESS ANY ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN AFRICA, UNCLASSIFIED

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AMERICA HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN THE EXPLOITATION OF THE CONTINENT'S RESOURCES, OVERTLY AND COVERTLY, SINCE WORLD WAR TWO.

18. PERTAINING TO THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ONE CAN CITE NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF HER OPPOSITION TO THE SELF DETERMINATION OF AFRICAN PEOPLES, DATING FROM HER INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONGO, (NOW ZAIRE) IN THE EARLY 1960S AND THE ASSASSIN- -ATION OF LUMUMBA, TO HER RECENT FIASCO IN ANGOLA.

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19 IN AFRICA TODAY HER POSITION AS THE LARGEST, MOST POWERFUL IMPERIALIST POWER IS UNSURPASSED. YET, THE ONLY FAULT THAT THE NEW PRESIDENT FINDS WITH THE ACTIONS OF HIS PREDECESSOR IN THE FIELD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IS THAT HE ACTED "TOO LATE".

20. THIS REPRESENT NO UANTITATIVE OR QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN THE POSITION OF CARTER AS OPPOSED TO FORD. INDEED, THE NEW MAN HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO STATE THAT HE SEES NO REASON TO IMPLEMENT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, AND WE HEAR NO WORD ON THE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT WHICH ALLOWS THE US TO CONTINUE IMPORTING CHROME FROM RHODESIA IN DEFIANCE OF UN RESOLUTIONS.

21. MR. CARTER'S SUPPOSED HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF STATE CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY, WHETHER HE CAN ACTUALLY AFFECT THE NATURE OF AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA.

22. IN TERMS OF AMERICAN MULTINATIONALS WHO FIND THEIR INVESTMENTS AND PROFITS SERIOUSLY THREATENED BY THE DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHER AFRICA, PRESIDENT CARTER IS ACTING FROM A SUBORDINATE POSITION.
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WEM HE CANNOT CONTROL THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WHICH ENACTS LEGISLATION COMPATIBLE WITH THE NATION'S ECONOMIC BASE, AND HE CONNOT RESTRUCTURE THE ECONOMY WHICH DETERMINES THE POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THE AMERICAN STATE BOTH ON THE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

24. AMERICA IS A CAPITALIST-IMPERIALIST NATION, AND IN THE ABSENCE OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION WHICH RADICALLY ALTERS THE ECONOMIC AND PLLITICAL DOMESTIC STRUCTURE, HER FOREIGN POLICY ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD WILL NOT CHANGE. THE MOST CARTER CAN OFFER AFRICA IS A CHANGE IN DEGREE, IF NOT IN KIND; AND

HE DOES NOT EVEN PROPOSE TO OFFER THAT.

25. THEN, WE ARE FACED WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN AS AMERICA'S AMBASSADOR TO AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION INCREASINGLY CONCERNED WITH, IF NOT DOMINATED BY AFRICAN STATES.

26. WE ARE TOLD THAT HE IS A MAN DRAWN DIRECTLY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY, SHARING THE INTERESTS AND SENSITIVITY TO AFRICA THAT IS INHERENT IN HIS POSITION AS AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN. THUS, YOUNG'S APPOINTMENT SERVES TO UPLIFT THE PRESTIGE OF AMERICA IN AFRICA - ANOTHER "GOOD WILL" GESTURE.

27. YET, IT BECOMES NECESSARY TO EXAMINE WHOSE INTERESTS, WHOSE POSITION DOES ANDREW YOUNG REPRESENT. AS CITED PREVIOUSLY, HIS ELEVATION IN THE AMERICAN POWER STRUCTURE RENDERS HIS COMMITMENT TO AFRICAN-AMERICAN QUESTIONABLE.

28. CLEARLY, HE WILL NOT ARRIVE AT THE UN PRESENTING THE GRIEVANCES OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. ANY PREVIOUS "LEADER" WHO HAS ATTEMPTED TO BRING THE UNRELENTING OPPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE WITHIN THE US TO THE ATTENTION OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION
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HAS EITHER BEEN DISCREDITED OR ASSASSINATED.

29. IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT ANDREW YOUNG WOULD NOBLY SUBMIT TO SUCH A FATE. AND IT MUST BE CLEARLY STATED IF NOT OBVIOUS TO ALL, THAT MR. YOUNG DOES NOT REPRESENT OR HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY WHEN HE IS FORCED TO CAST HIS UN VOTE AGAINST MEASURES DESIGNED TO ISOLATE AND HASTEN THE DEFEAT OF THE RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

30. THE AMERICAN VETO IN THE UN HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY USED TO DELAY AND STIFLE THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. WILL THE FACT THAT THE VETO WILL NOW BE CAST BY A BLACK MAN LESSEN THE IMPACT? I SUBMIT THAT THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF AMERICA'S POSITION WILL BE GREATLY INCREASED, BECAUSE AFRICA WILL HAVE BEEN BETRAYED BY ONE OF HER OWN. ANDREW YOUNG IS INDEED IN A TENUOUS POSITION; HE WILL BE FORCED TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF IMPERIALIST AMERICA; INTERESTS WHICH ARE INIMICAL TO THOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA AND THE PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT.

31. THUS, THE APPOINTMENT IS SIMPLY ANOTHER TACTIC IN THE STRATEGY TO DELUDE AND DECEIVE THOSE WHO STRUGGLE FOR TOTAL LIBERATION. IN 1977, WE MUST LOOK BEYOND THE "NEW IMAGE" OF AMERICA AND BEHOLD THE SAME OLD EXPLOITATIVE, OPPRESSIVE

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